

MODERN LIVING

Conference on drugtaking comes to few helpful conclusions

The youth of the world has gone to pot and other drugs. The vision of the future seems grim. Young people are no longer interested in society. All they want is to prolong the trip as long as possible.

The younger generation is hell-bent on self-destruction. Warning voices tell us these grim "facts" every day and pin the blame fairly and squarely on hashish.

Parents are up in arms, or just in tears. Teachers are filled with mistrust and trying to get to the bottom of it — are their pupils among the consumers of the seductive weed?

Doctors are taking seriously the task of investigating drugs and their possible effects.

Young people just laugh it off and keep the experiences they gain on their trips for themselves.

They are up in arms about the criticism levelled at them for the way they take their pleasures. They point the accusing finger at the seductive drugs of the older generation, of the Establishment — tobacco, alcohol. They point out that these have a proven detrimental effect on health.

Why, they ask, are they pursued by the police for taking a drug whose harmful effects have never been adequately established whereas the older generation rots its brains and stomach lining with alcohol and happily inhales carcinogens from an endless stream of cigarettes?

Prejudice prevails on both sides. Here there is hysteria, there provocation. Thus an objective judgement about what is a danger to society is made more difficult.

A conference on drugtaking in Königstein attempted to come to a more objective conclusion about this problem. The conference was entitled *Jugend und Rauschmittel* (Youth and Drugs).

Teachers, doctors, parents, social welfare workers and members of the church debated the problem of drugs in order to come to a conclusion that could help them in their work among young people.

Doctors (including Klaus Wanke of the Frankfurt University Neurological Clinic), psychologists (including Professor Degkwitz from Freiburg), educationalists (including educational adviser Dr. Gusti Gebhardt), officials from the criminal investigation department (represented by Erich Panitz) were there to stimulate discussions.

As always when this theme is discussed slogans were banded about in Königstein. As always in discussions on this subject both sides defended their standpoint with such slogans as "The Danger of Addiction."

Helmut Wanke said: "We have not yet been able to prove that addiction is the unavoidable outcome of taking drugs but everyone who takes them runs this risk. All narcotics, hashish too, can lead to bodily dependence, if not mental dependence."

He added that the problem was particularly acute in adolescence. "Taking hashish regularly leads to increasing indifference and passivity, diminishes accomplishments and causes disinterest in work. A young person who regularly takes drugs will impede his personality development. He will achieve nothing, least of all the ability to change society."

Herr Wanke continued that the problem of addiction was not so widespread. The gravest danger of a large number of not-yet-mature people taking drugs was that they would never grow up to be complete people.

The conference set out to ascertain what motivated young people to take drugs in the first place.

Gusti Gebhardt as an educational adviser

er thought that the main motivation was curiosity. "But in addition to this comes the matter of prestige. Young people are like sheep and what the one decrees is 'in' must be copied."

Herr Wanke who works at the Advisory Centre for Victims of Addiction in Frankfurt spoke of other causes. He thought that the young turned to drugs because of the problem of finding an echelon in society, problems involving the business of becoming an adult and conflicts with parents as a result of the so-called generation gap.

He said that a young hashish taker had said at the Centre: "It gives me such a good feeling that even the old man doesn't seem so bad!"

The welfare society was quoted as

being a seducer of young people to drugs. It was stated that if youngsters were not so spoilt they might learn the art of abstention.

The organisers of this conference did not invite drugtakers to participate since they foresaw this leading to an interminable stream of social criticism which they did not want.

Participants at the conference were agreed that saying "don't" was the worst thing to do. This just increases curiosity. In fact this collection of experts saw little future at all for parents in attempts to cut drugtaking among the young. They pointed out that young people do not tend to follow anything their parents say, but prefer to take their examples from people of their own age group.

Gusti Gebhardt said that if he wanted to exercise any influence over their children they must throw the air of always "knowing what is and what is right."

Other experts stated that this point should be given as much prominence as the "facts of life". Young children must be told unobtrusively that drugs are harmful.

Doctors agreed that preventing a better than cure for the simple cure of people already hooked on drug habit. There are no special centres and no rehabilitation centres for drug-addicts.

The vision of the future is not so bright. Police state that in 1969 about 100 kilograms of hashish were consumed and that the number of people taking drugs was increasing.

Plans are under way for a future conference at which young people who take drugs are asked ... why?

Ulla Schöber

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 10 May)

Will a plane with 400 seats make the airline happier than the passenger?



Since the world's largest and fastest (and most expensive) jetliner, the Boeing 747, was announced to the world, some people have been worried about sharing a plane with so many people.

They won't be, once they've seen how they'll share it. The cabin is divided into five big "living rooms."

You'll have a lot of space to walk around in two wide aisles. (In first class you can even go upstairs, where we have a bar-lounge.)

You can watch movies or listen to music. But we've also reserved one room for people who don't want to be entertained.

We won't serve meals from a

carriage. We'll serve them by hand. And to serve you fast, every room has its own kitchen. (You can also have special food if you're on a diet.)

These are only a few features of our new plane.

We're happy to have it.

And we think our passengers will be, too.

Lufthansa

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seen whether the three elections will prove to be the test of support for the government that they are reputed to be but there can be no denying that they are giving rise to emotions comparable with what would be expected at general elections.

Even so, it is good that the Bundestag has once more become the scene of major

Complaints of late about the hopeless conformism of the major political parties ought, after recent Bundestag debates, to have given way to delight at the renaissance of confrontation.

Millions of televisioners were once again able to see for themselves what a Parliament is like in which passions flare over the future course of policies. The days of the party-political cartel are over and done with. Delight in dispute is still alive and kicking. And how!

Many an observer who in the sixties lamented about the allegedly inevitable atrophy of parliamentarism in this country has already had his fill of the attributes of parliamentary campaigning.

It can hardly be termed a sight for sore eyes when a major parliamentary party tries its hand at leaving the Chamber in protest. It is even less gratifying to hear a parliamentary party chairman accuse the Christian Democrats of establishing a climate suitable for right-wing extremism to the point of murder lust.

Debate that was tough but to the point would be more readily desired of discussion of the budget estimates. This, though, was something no one was prepared to provide. Let it not be forgotten that election campaign fever is with us.

In a week's time mid-term elections are to be held in three states. It remains to be

debates, as it was in the fifties. As then it is once again a matter of grave and far-reaching decisions on foreign and German Question policy.

World affairs have left the two Chancellors who can justly claim to have decided the guidelines of policy, Adenauer and Brandt, with little time for domestic politics.

In the first six years of his administration Adenauer battled for military integration of the Federal Republic within a Western alliance.

Brandt is now battling to gain acceptance of the consequences of this policy of Western integration. He proposes to make the reality of division more bearable by means of mutual respect of the existing state of affairs: two states and West Berlin linked to the Federal Republic.

No one should be surprised that this policy today is giving rise to passions on a par with those of 1950, when Interior Minister Heinemann, now Federal President, tendered his resignation.

It is strange how many developments are being repeated, even if in reverse. The Opposition's repeated laments that Willy Brandt is not keeping them adequately informed about his real aims bring to mind the days when Konrad Adenauer kept the Bundestag in the dark, to put it mildly, for years about his rearmament plans.

Equally serious decisions are at stake now: the change is merely one of direction. The Grand Coalition, of which a breakthrough to inevitable and possibly unpopular decisions might have been expected, ground to a standstill in its own contradictions.

It is impossible to negotiate with the GDR as a treaty partner and at the same time to insist on the legal claim to the sole right to represent the whole nation and on the negation of the GDR's statehood.

Nor can an agreement on renunciation of the use of force with the Soviet Union

West Berlin pivotal to any East-West agreements

To do so or to provoke others into doing so is to eliminate oneself from serious consideration in the necessary debate on the pros and cons.

A new stab-in-the-back legend is not designed to clarify the situation, which is badly necessary. It merely represents psychological groundwork for civil war — as in the twenties.

What, then, would be the advantages and disadvantages of a treaty renouncing the use of force? There can be no ideal solution, merely improvements. Renunciation by the Soviet Union of its claimed unilateral right to intervene would be one.

This claim, based on the enemy-state articles of the UN Charter, has been a source of anxiety for years. Were the Soviet Union prepared to declare, as the



Poles in Bonn

Deputy Polish Foreign Minister Josef Winiewicz (left) arrived at Rhine-Main airport, Frankfurt, on the morning of 7 June heading a delegation to continue negotiations between Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany in Bonn. He is seen being welcomed by Dr. Schwarzmann, right, Bonn's head of protocol. In this, the fourth round of talks, the Bonn delegation will be led by Walter Scheel, Federal Foreign Minister. The Poles will reply to the proposals made by State Secretary Duckwitz in Warsaw last April. (Photo: dpa)

be envisaged, as it has been since Chancellor Erhard's days, while persistently evading the issue of respecting frontiers in Eastern Europe.

Adenauer proffered a foreign policy that formed a watertight unit; in his way Brandt is doing the same. In both cases the Opposition has an important part to play.

The "growing intensity" of debate in Bonn is a sign that crucial decisions are again in the offing. The question is: Will the new policy towards the Eastern Bloc benefit co-existence of peoples and nations; peace and security?

There can, on the other hand, be no doubt whatsoever that it is not a matter of treason and is indeed irresponsible in the extreme to oppose the policy on grounds of betraying the national interest.

Of late Scheel's role has been contradictory enough. Initial eagerness to leave for Moscow forthwith has been succeeded by the realisation that July is a suitable date.

Is there still a possibility that after the elections and consideration of the pros and cons and all facets of the new Eastern Bloc policy, government and Opposition may yet reach a common viewpoint?

If not, the Brandt administration could not be blamed for trying to push through its policy with a bare majority, as Adenauer did in his time.

A general election, at which the Social Democrats are hinting, is as unlikely as the rapid thrust of a vote of constructive no-confidence with which Christian Democratic parliamentary party chairman Rainer Barzel is threatening.

For a vote of no-confidence the Opposition needs not only a majority but also an alternative Chancellor. Hans Schuster (Süddeutsche Zeitung, 6 June 1970)

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

25-year-old UN must reassess its international role

Pomp and circumstance out of all proportion to the success achieved will mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations.

Commemoration celebrations are to begin at the historic venue in San Francisco where, on 26 June 1945, the UN Charter was signed by 51 founder nations.

Its influence on world affairs has so far proved illusory. Its ideals will nonetheless remain valid for the future.

The hollow pathos of festive speeches is not what is needed to gain greater respect for the UN Charter despite past disappointments.

The inevitable smokescreen of alien praise and proud self-portrayal could well merely cloud the prospect of unutilised opportunities here and now — yet it cannot disguise the fact that the UN is in a profound state of crisis.

Do the diplomats at UN headquarters on the banks of New York's East River seriously propose to call on the younger generation to give their organisation the kiss of life?

Ingenuous observers ask this question in respect of the first world youth meeting to be held under the aegis of U Thant in New York from 9 to 18 July to mark the anniversary.

This gathering is probably doomed to failure from the start. Formally it will at least establish the universal nature of the UN as General Assemblies have in the past and on individual issues the chosen representatives of the various governments are unlikely to depart from the known policies of their respective countries.

Autumn will show what importance is really still attached to the UN. Heads of state and government of all member-

countries have been invited to attend the twenty-fifth full session of the General Assembly.

It is hoped that they will deliver their eulogies on the United Nations between 19 and 24 October.

Will a summit meeting between President Nixon and Premier Kosygin come about or will not even Premier Wilson (should he be re-elected) and President Pompidou feel the need to pay their respects?

Even if they were only to pay lip service to the aims of the organisation their mere presence would considerably boost UN prestige.

Meetings between leading statesmen on the side, as it were, not to mention specific agreements on problems with which the UN has proved unable to cope, would be of inestimable value and effect.

Following sober scrutiny the world organisation could, in view of its evident powerlessness in the face of conflicts involving the interests of the Great Powers, come to the possibly revolutionary conclusion that it can neither be an international parliament nor assume an international police role.

By renouncing political activity and limiting itself to the extensive sectors of development aid, birth control, environmental protection and peaceful exploitation of space and the seabed, the UN could embark on worthwhile projects with a prospect of success.

Yet although the war in Indo-China is beyond the scope of the United Nations — neither People's China nor North or South Vietnam are UN members — and the Middle East conflict is dealt with mainly within the framework of Four-

Power talks the UN continues to try and keep the peace.

UN members are now being called on to make fresh proposals as to how the organisation can do so — by way of an anniversary competition, as it were.

What form is an effective means to take when East and West could not even reach agreement on a modest permanent UN peace force?

Finland hopes to have made a constructive proposal in suggesting that the Security Council convene in camera twice a year to mediate on issues over which dispute has arisen.

Neither during the Cold War period nor since, with the prospect of peaceful co-existence, has the Security Council succeeded in performing the role for which it was originally intended, that of being an incorruptible guardian of international peace and security.

Whenever the crunch came the former five great powers resorted to the veto: the Soviet Union 25 times, France and Britain four times each and the United States and Nationalist China on one occasion each.

After the Security Council was enlarged from eleven to fifteen members efforts were made whenever possible to reach agreement before voting. The result has been weak and vaguely-worded resolutions followed by arguments as to their interpretation and application.

Although other bodies rank more highly than the Secretary-General the man and his position have in recent years increasingly been equated with the entire organisation.

In the case of U Thant of Burma his hesitation in critical situations and his tendency to give in to demands that should have been resisted have been to the detriment of the UN.

The emergence of a new assessment of the UN's role will depend to a large extent on the election next year of U Thant's successor. Relations between Moscow and Washington and the entire international climate will not be without influence on the voting. *Manfred Neuber (Die Welt, 2 June 1970)*

Paris encourages Bonn to reach Moscow agreement

President Pompidou has today plain speaking, informing Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko in Paris that Bonn and Moscow to be crowned success.

At the present juncture this encouragement for possible Bonn-Bonn more than anything else indicates to the Soviet visitor that there is no intention of competing Bonn for détente.

France shows little inclination to divide the Soviet Union with an eye to playing off Bonn against her.

Welcome as this right word is, it can be no mistaking the context in which France would like to see success for this country.

M. Pompidou emphasised to his guest — no doubt also with a view to the Bonn-Bonn direction — that France's Republic reconciliation is a fait accompli and that the economic development of Western Europe is being consolidated on a pragmatic basis.

France clearly sees the need to at last head in the direction of a but repeatedly stresses, on occasions of incomprehensible agitation, that the Federal Republic is firmly tied to the West.

Within this framework, and in preparing over differences of opinion with the Soviet Union, France continues to pursue General de Gaulle's aim of détente and cooperation with the East.

M. Pompidou's express assurance of this intention to his Soviet visitor is significant to the extent that since the visit of General de Gaulle to the USSR the government has made no secret of its anxiety lest France's new leaders in the West should abandon their tried and tested position within the West.

In emphasising, even more than General de Gaulle, the role of Western Europe, his successors show not the least inclination of allowing themselves to be drawn along the anti-communist line in a past generation of "Europeans," a belief and a belief which is gradually being replaced by a more realistic and above all more realistic than the General, though, he at most thinks what the General said out loud.

France's attitude towards Britain at Viterbo shows how Gaullist an approach the French continued to adopt. They wanted to exclude Whitehall from foreign policy consultations until Britain is a full member of the Common Market.

The compromise reached (Britain is to attend the second day of consultations) came about at this country's request.

A great deal has happened since the General's departure from the political stage to provide food for thought for a number of Common Market countries, including France.

Dutch Foreign Minister Joseph Luns made no bones about matters in a recent interview with *L'Aurore*, the Paris daily. The Dutch, Luns said, are growing increasingly worried about the renewed power of this country. For this reason alone, he commented, political unification of Western Europe was a must.

Similar sentiments were expressed by *Le Monde* on the eve of Viterbo. The expansion of the Common Market and Bonn's dialogue with the Eastern Bloc, it was stated, make it incumbent on the governments of the Six to seek new ways and means of cooperation.

True enough. One of the main aims of political cooperation as understood by General de Gaulle was to keep this country under control. Viewed in this light Willy Brandt's policy towards the Eastern Bloc may indirectly be of benefit to European integration.

So despite scepticism as to political union Viterbo nonetheless represented a good start. *Hans Rademacher (Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 2 June 1970)*

HOME AFFAIRS

No return to disturbances of Weimar Republic

Apparently the political scene in the Federal Republic has gone through radical changes in recent years.

Indicative of this was the meeting of Willy Brandt and Willy Stoph in Kassel. Whereas Stoph was greeted with a red carpet, the confrontation of extremist groups on the right and the left of the political spectrum, particularly when the television cameras appeared, flared up into a brawl.

This same scene which a few years ago would have been officially blessed as a public disturbance and occasion for the police to go into action now gives rise to a scandal since the police failed to protect themselves from three young people.

"Out" constitutional and pluralistic democracy, usually presented in a black and white form as exemplary as a contrast to the totalitarian system on the other side of the Iron Curtain seems to have developed into a polarised friend-foe society. It is the ground on which anti-parliamentary and authoritarian groups squabble.

Concerned voices are being heard more often warning ever more forcefully, "Just like the Weimar Republic!"

Some people have blamed this escalation of extremism in the Federal Republic on the new *Ostpolitik*, but this is certainly not the case.

It is, however, an example of the possibilities of change in a parliamentary system which has been attacked for being supposedly petrified. Aggressive demonstrations against the "system" have deepened the rift, even if only slightly rational bases.

In place of the democratic order of the government has made no secret of its anxiety lest France's new leaders in the West should abandon their tried and tested position within the West.

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to be the best political basis for a free and freedom-loving society.

Secondly it can imply increasing control of the political field of power by fanatical opponents of the constitutional parliamentary state who are riddled with ideologies. It can mean increasing control over the "street" with all the trappings of street-and-house-to-house fighting.

To cut a long story short: polarisation, the concentration of constitutional forces in large popular parties with the power to govern, offering genuine legal alternatives is still the most effective means of combatting the polarisation of extremist opponents of the system which is deadly for a free constitutional State.

It was not merely by chance that in the years of the Grand Coalition when positive polarisation was missed and a government monopoly offered no platform for malcontents there was an escalation of extremism.

It was a pleasant surprise at the end of this period, that in spite of this — or because of it? — a majority of 95 per cent of the electorate (they could be called the silent majority) gave their vote to the major, more or less liberal parties.

This could be the foundation stone of future political strength. The present set up is far removed from the "republic without republicans" of Weimar.

The silent but enfranchised majority about whom I am talking is not to be compared with either a crypto-fascist majority or with a group of petty-bourgeois reactionaries.

Those people are grouped quite naturally into more conservative and more progressive factions. But what binds these groups together is the knowledge, gained from experience, of totalitarian systems in the past and present-day inhuman dictatorships.

They are united by the will to hammer out unavoidable conflicts, according to the rules of democracy and constitutionalism.

It may well be that now, as ever, trust in the healthy rationality in mankind will be the only basis for a free society.

The debate on the Bonn government's White Paper on Federal Republic security and the state of the Bundeswehr unfortunately differed completely from the White Paper itself.

The Opposition offered little more than superficial tactics. Pointing out the future of the Bundeswehr in the late seventies with hopes and aspirations which were either illusory or downright deceitful, the government tried to offer some consolation to the public.

Opposition spokesman Zimmermann, Klepac and Wörner reproached the government in more or less plain terms for allegedly cutting down the security of the Federal Republic.

As far as the efforts being made by this country, in connection with our NATO partners, to bring about political détente and as far as the present situation in the Bundeswehr is concerned this accusation is absolutely unfounded.

The fact that offers of negotiations are being made in no way implies diminution of security.

Christian Social Union member Zimmermann's question to the government about what it would do if NATO suggestions for considered troop reductions in the East and West is rejected by the East is highly lighted. Offers of negotiations do not diminish the security of the State. On the contrary they must be an essential part of any present-day defence policy.

The fighting force of the Bundeswehr is



Demonstrations in Kassel during the Brandt-Stoph meeting (Photos: Wolfgang Hauf/Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Berlin, Deutschland)

be betrayed and that even after the change of government in Bonn the propagandists of contra-violence, whose motto is: "Destroy whatever tries to destroy you" will spread their contradictory gospel.

The difference between APO (extra-parliamentary opposition) and the IPO which is said to have replaced it, and signifies opposition within the parties, is scarcely discernible.

It is logical outcome of the virtual two-party system and as such is a step in the right direction.

It offers the opportunity for integration as long as the political parties are strong enough in themselves and have strong enough convictions to counteract the infiltration of ideologies.

The tendency in this country unlike France for example, is to liberate the right to demonstrate, but not to extend it to anti-fracture legislation.

This tendency speaks for the political understanding of humanity and the capability to learn of the much despised Establishment ("a word which should be used with caution and treated with caution since it is trendy").

After the excesses of misguided rigorism and misguided tolerance a much needed educational process has got under way.

Defence debate waffles on

no worse today than seven months ago, when the Social Democrat-Free Democrat coalition came to power.

The Opposition has levelled carefully aimed criticism at Helmut Schmidt, the Defence Minister, claiming that cuts and deletions he has made in the arms allocation have reduced the degree of security in the Federal Republic in years to come.

But Opposition criticism was destructive with no constructive alternative offered.

CDU experts know well enough that the degree of security in the Federal Republic is more considerably reduced by limiting Bundeswehr establishments than by cutting the defence budget.

CDU speakers in the debate gave assurances therefore that they would back Schmidt up to the hilt in his efforts to relieve Bundeswehr understaffing. This requires money.

The Opposition is speaking on one hand of cuts in the arms allocation and then demanding a greater increase in the defence budget. But it did not force the point since an increase in defence expenditure at the expense of education and social welfare allocations would be unpopular.

Politicians and police officials, legal organisations and journalists are learning.

A consensus of opinion on the rules of the game must be taken following the so-called creation of insecurity. The rules must be carefully drawn up and followed to the letter and a line must be drawn on the degree of violence that will be permitted. There will be no repeat of Weimar.

Hans Schuster (Süddeutsche Zeitung, 30 May 1970)

New appointments in SPD leadership

Carlo Schmid and Käte Strobel are no longer represented on the Social Democratic Party executive which was elected recently by the executive committee.

Carlo Schmid's position was taken by national executive secretary Hans-Jürgen Wischniewski. Annemarie Renger took Health Minister Käte Strobel's place on the executive.

The eleven-strong executive committee is made up of Willy Brandt, his deputies Helmut Schmidt and Herbert Wehner, treasurer Alfred Nau, Egon Franke, Heinz Kühn, Georg Leber, Alex Möller and Professor Karl Schiller. (NEUE WELT, 1 June 1970)

The excessive haste in forming and building up the Bundeswehr and its excessive dimension from the start have thrown up so many self-contradicting problems that the present government initiative in setting priorities has come rather too late than too early.

Anyhow the debate proved that the government still lacks the courage to carry out genuine, consistent, long-term planning. Talk of possible troop reductions in East and West is an indication of perplexity concerning long-term defence planning.

Plans of this kind can never be based on hopes alone, and Helmut Schmidt's statements that a situation could arise where the defence budget greatly increases again after a few years must be greeted with scepticism.

In the mid-seventies, the demands of educational policy on the budget as a whole will be higher than at present and scarcely leave room for great increases in defence spending.

In addition to this Bonn will have to pay more for the American troops stationed in this country next year, with the result that there will be another increase in expenditure.

Since expenditure on arms can only be put to a limited extent it seems likely that in the long run cuts and re-structuring in the Bundeswehr will have to be undertaken. (Handelsblatt, 4 June 1970)

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POLITICS

Karl Moersch replaces Ralf Dahrendorf at the FO

After considering their future and before forming a coalition with the Social Democrats (SPD) in the Bundestag, the Free Democrats (FDP) came to the conclusion that they stood most chance of attracting new voters from among those who rise quickly up the social ladder.

The most well known riser, sociologist and former Social Democrat in the ranks of the FDP, Ralf Dahrendorf is leaving for Brussels on 1 July. Karl Moersch will replace him as parliamentary State Secretary in Bonn.

Dahrendorf suddenly appeared in the limelight as a symbol for the new FDP, advocating a policy of accepted conflict,

enter the Bundestag and in October became parliamentary State Secretary in the Foreign Office with special responsibility for cultural policy.

Now that he is becoming one of the nine highest civil servants of the Common Market Commission in Brussels, he will have to pay most of his attention to foreign relations. He has become a commissioner instead of a Chancellor.

Dahrendorf sat silently by the side of Walter Scheel in the Foreign Office, in no way emanating verbal mobility, when the Minister first announced the name of his successor.

If ever there was similarity between Dahrendorf and Moersch, it is that they both bear the fashionable label of being radical liberals. Both stood side by side for a time as Young Democrats who had grown older.

But even if Dahrendorf is said to have changed, Moersch has remained what many people call a left-wing liberal.

Moersch likes to point out his liberal tradition. His grandfather supported the Württemberg Volkspartei, his father its successor, the German Democratic Party.

Karl Moersch was born in Württemberg in 1929. He joined the FDP/DVP at the age of twenty. In 1959 he became a town councillor in Oberursel in the Taunus. He entered the Bundestag via the reserve list in 1964 and two years ago became a member of the nine-man FDP executive.

A journalist by profession, he has worked in Oberhausen, Ludwigshafen, Frankfurt and Bonn.

Moersch is one of the quickest and sharpest speakers in the Bundestag. Kurt Georg Kiesinger used to leave his seat when Moersch got up to speak.

As Parliamentary State Secretary in the Foreign Office and the representative of the Foreign Minister in certain fields, especially cultural policy, he will have to keep a firm rein on his temperament when speaking and will have to make less use of his polemic talents.

Rudolf Strauch
(DIE WELT, 3 June 1970)

Law reform meets with opposition from lawyers and judges

Government plans for law reform have met with grave doubts from the Federal Law Association. In a press statement, the association feared that reform would not lead to any saving in expenditure but would mean increased costs of at least 4,000 million Marks.

It is noted with consternation that the Federal government had already introduced individual measures without giving sufficient details of the plans to lawyers, the largest legal group.

In the reform plans of the Federal Ministry of Justice, the Law Association sees a backward step in the administration of justice and an encroachment on the rights of every citizen seeking justice.

Instead of introducing a three-tier legal structure and merging 800 police and ninety county courts to form 350 new-type courts, it would be simpler and less expensive, the press statement says, to merge smaller courts into more efficient police courts.

The Chamber also raised objections against what is known as the acceleration clause as this largely reduces the chance of introducing new material in an appeal court.



Karl Moersch

Public attitudes of government aims surveyed

With the biggest survey in its history up to now the Social Democratic Party (SPD) is to investigate the opinions of the citizens of the Federal Republic on government policy and its aims for the future.

Hans-Jürgen Wischniewski, the SPD business manager, announced at a press conference in Bonn on 1 June that two and a half million questionnaires would be sent out to households, factories and residential areas in the next six weeks.

The questions are concerned mainly with German and Eastern European policy, economic policy and welfare policy.

The SPD wants to know whether citizens consider talks with the German Democratic Republic (GDR) to be right, whether they should be continued even though success may not be immediately visible and whether the government should also recognise the Oder-Neisse frontier. Recognition of the GDR is not mentioned.

In economic policy, the SPD wants to know whether the government should consider unemployment to stabilise prices immediately and whether citizens expect an increase in their real earnings in 1970.

(DIE WELT, 2 June 1970)

Expellees - the stage extras in the party political arena

The former League of Expellees is often used to accuse the Union, the CDU and the CSU, of little attention to the interests of expellees and refugees.

Of course this was not true. Many Bavarians viewed the expellees with more suspicion than they did the "Prussians", Bavarian pariahs for the unfortunate enough to have been in the north.

Christian Social Union (CSU) Franz Josef Strauss is now one of the most powerful men in the Federal government as one of the most powerful attorneys of the expellees. But the more the character of foreign policy in the special case of the Federal North Rhine-Westphalia, certainly not mestic motives as well.

For Strauss the expellees are another group that can be mobilised in national and party political fights. The Social Democrats (SPD) have the hand believe that time has come when the problem of expellees and will finally solve it.

The Federal government, a law with their statements. In the opinion polls, support for Strauss is shown by the figures gained by the CDU in this field.

According to these statistics, two thirds of expellees and refugees should not now pause in their thought, lieve that Pomerania, Silesia and Prussia are lost for ever, though of said.

They do not approve of this. The first shows a certain degree of resignation. The beginning, the first frontiers is accepted by a majority.

Comrades Kurt Hager and Paul Verner the home population and also by the fact that nothing to add to this when they 45 per cent of refugees and expellees appeared before the press (after some of the different proportionation) during the party congress of these two sections in the population of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin is still a narrow majority for recognition (SEW).

Many people link their agreement with the hope of better relations with the East and the Eastern Bloc.

Of course anyone gathering expellees around him once again in the walls, the delegates' brief-cases were green and delicate roses adorned the vintal assembly elections.

But the term "policy of renewal" extends to other political areas, as the unreliability as far as the national front, a lack in the will of self-determination (SEW) at its second party congress on 23 May in the historical assembly hall of the Neue Welt in the suburb of Neukölln.

Those who ignore the interests of expellees today, the argument goes, tomorrow betray the rights and share of the vote other groups in favour of certain political positions.

This is the actual battle between position and government. The expellees are just stage extras that time has thrown up.

The SPD, and the Free Democrats hope that a forecast of this type will prove true. They are beginning to calculate the possible counter-reaction of wide sections of the party and aggressive demands in every field.

It is of course not aggressive to demand the right of self-determination for Germans and place the expellees right have a homeland over the realities after the War, and when all is said and done, by the War.

But this method will not result in return of the Eastern territories for the return of calm into the political atmosphere of calm into the political atmosphere.

Public opinion here goes through all sections. Many expellees long thought the same as the home population and some of the home population think in a more expellee manner than expellees themselves. Opinion polls are acceptable, as superficial and dangerous point to this.

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(STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG, 1 June 1970)

Recognition of the GDR has rough aspects for both sides

There was no mistaking the words of Peter Lorf, the German Democratic Republic delegation's press spokesman, on the evening of the Kassel meeting between Willy Brandt and Willi Stoph.

There would be further talks between the two German heads of government, he said, only if the Federal government was prepared to give the GDR full diplomatic recognition.

Willi Stoph, Chairman of the GDR's Ministerial Council, was less blunt two hours later in a television interview with Karl Eduard von Schnitzler, East Berlin's chief commentator, who had also come to Kassel.

He said that the GDR was willing to continue the talks as soon as Bonn showed a realistic attitude in the basic question of diplomatic recognition.

Since then there has been no further comment from East Berlin as to how and when everything is to continue. Socialist Unity Party (SED) officials are sparing no effort to achieve this.

In a radio discussion programme broadcast by the Deutschlandsender Rudi Sing, the chief editor of *Neues Deutschland*, interpreted Stoph's mention of a pause for thought.

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(Kölnischer Nachrichten, 2 June 1970)

DIE ZEIT

FÜR POLITIK, WIRTSCHAFT, KUNST UND LITERATUR

"Kassel ended with the proposal of a pause for thought," Verner said. "I hope that the Federal government learns something during this pause."

When asked whether the GDR government would also use this pause for thought they replied that East Berlin always thought about how peace could be safeguarded in Germany.

They ignored all mention that Chancellor Brandt had held out the prospect of a solution to the question of recognition if he were to receive an answer beforehand as to what concrete results there would be in the interest of people in Germany.

This offer, made by Brandt in Kassel, is an embarrassment to the SED. Until now it has not replied in detail to it or the Chancellor's twenty-point programme.

Brandt's words were not taken seriously. They were dismissed as a manoeuvre to conceal the actually far-reaching aims of Bonn's policy against the GDR.

SED reactions show what was beforehand only assumed - Willi Stoph and his comrades travelled to Kassel with the intention of allowing the meeting to end as it did.

But the more cooperative Willy Brandt became, the more difficult it must have been for them to reject his offers and justify their course.

The things that went wrong at Kassel did not alter the result in any way, but only made the SED's tactics more easy. It sparked off a campaign in the GDR in which the Federal Republic was re-

presented as a State dominated by reactionary and neo-Nazi elements.

Newspaper headlines drummed this in to the people: "Nazi provocations were planned", "Nazi terror, disrespect shown to GDR flag, disorderly riots - this is what lies behind Bonn's talk of peace, freedom and humanity".

Journalists claimed that people who were willing to rip up flags today would be pulling down the border posts tomorrow. And this was not only applied to extremist minorities but to the Federal Republic as a whole.

SED propaganda tried to ignore the fact that Stoph had not accepted what Brandt had offered. Renunciation of force, respecting frontiers and statehood, limitation of sovereignty to one's own territory, the exchange of plenipotentiaries and agreement regarding membership of international organisations would, all in all, have been de facto recognition.

But this was rejected in favour of the formula "full diplomatic recognition". It is now becoming obvious that the GDR is tying its own hands by using legal concepts. This was the mistake of earlier governments in the Federal Republic.

It is not at all true that the GDR insists upon full diplomatic recognition when opening relations with a country. It only insists on this where the Federal Republic is concerned.

The GDR already has consulates and trade missions in many countries without having full diplomatic relations. It had long had contacts with Algeria before full diplomatic relations were agreed upon one day before the Kassel meeting.

When the GDR government demands difficult relations with the Federal Republic, then with other States, this is not

the result of their fear of an alleged neo-Fascist and imperialist danger.

Foreign Minister Otto Winzer himself said over the Deutschlandsender, "In the struggle for great things, Communists have never been afraid of Nazis."

There are other reasons for the GDR's delaying tactics. Rapprochement between Bonn and East Berlin certainly cannot be expected until Bonn's exploratory talks in Moscow have registered their first successes.

And a further point. Rapprochement is not possible until Moscow itself has an interest in closer relations between the two German States.

That means, that the Gordian knot would not be cut if Bonn decided to recognise the GDR immediately. The SED is well aware that there would have to be an agreement on Berlin at the same time as recognition. The four powers will have to make the final decision here however.

No pressing matter

Diplomatic recognition of the GDR by Bonn is far less urgent to the SED than the party maintains. But that is not so much bound up with the financial advantages in inter-German trade that the GDR would lose after full diplomatic recognition.

One result of recognition on the basis of international law would be that East Berlin would have to allow human easements in Germany, more travel and cultural and sporting exchanges.

If the GDR disappointed these hopes, it would suffer damage in both foreign and domestic policy. If it was prepared to fulfil these conditions, the decay of the German nation would be halted and its unity strengthened.

The one must be as unpleasant for the SED as the other.

The grapes of recognition are sour - for both sides. It was not a pause for thought that Stoph wanted but a pause for breath.

Joachim Nawrocki
(DIE ZEIT, 29 May 1970)

West Berlin's Communists play it cool

Köln Nachrichten

ANZEIGEN UND KONTAKT

At the party congress of the SEW everybody wore a collar and tie. Only a few of the younger members risked a beard and then it was always well trimmed. Women members had all had their hair done.

At first glance the congress, attended by some 650 delegates, looked respectably bourgeois, matching the rose decorations. And discipline was once again good. Nobody left their seats to walk around the hall, there was no heckling, speeches were read out in turn and the intervals were strictly kept to.

West Berlin newspapers took little notice of the SEW congress. In the almost empty press section there were only a handful of Western journalists among pressmen from East Berlin.

But it is wrong to consider the SEW to be uninteresting. Perhaps the party does not mind this lack of interest as its respectable facade might not stand up to closer examination.

The party wishes to be considered as an independent communist party. After Khrushchev's ultimatum in 1959 the West Berlin organisation was split from the Socialist Unity Party (SED) of Greater Berlin and the officials responsible for it moved into the Western half of the city.

In 1962, after the Wall had been built, the West Berlin Socialist Unity Party (SED-W) officially decreed itself in-

dependent, true to the three state theory. A year ago at the extraordinary party congress in the Neue Welt the D for Deutschland was omitted, leaving SEW.

The SEW remains the SED branch office for West Berlin. It is obvious that the contributions of 6,500 members can cover only a fraction of the party's expenses.

Only now has the SEW received its own emblem - the three letters appear in the form of the red flag. Ten years ago the SED badge with the crossed hands was still seen on members' lapels. After this lapels were left blank.

But now at the latest party congress delegates were handed white cardboard disks the size of a five Mark piece and with the new emblem.

It is only now that the SEW has decided to have its own politbureau. But that does not alter the fact that they do not pursue their own line - there was no discussion of ideological questions at the congress. All the party does is carry out special tasks within the framework of SED policy.

There is a lot of talk about these tasks.

The central feature is the undermining of West Berlin or, to use official parlance, the consolidation of ties with the workers.

Delegates stood up in turn to explain how this was to be done. A delegate from the Siemens works said that every member should set up a group of colleagues who do not belong to other parties and occupy himself with them intensively.

Members should not make long speeches in the factories but should ask embarrassing questions. It was agreed that the chances of the party were greater, the more insecure the population felt.

A brunette, who could almost be described as elegant, received special applause for her speech. After all, she and her husband did manage to make contact with 26 colleagues in West Berlin factory, including a Social Democrat who was now attending the congress as a guest.

Of course, this sort of activity must encroach on a member's leisure time. This couple invited colleagues home to drink a glass of beer with them so that the atmosphere would be more relaxed. Since the beginning of the year this brunette had won over six new members for the SEW. She was met with stormy applause when she demanded special training for this sort of work.

An announcement from the party executive claiming that 200 new members, mainly young people, had joined the party since 1966 sounded credible. There were many young people sitting among the grey-haired old campaigners at the delegate tables.

Renate Marbach
(Köln Nachrichten, 26 May 1970)

THE ARTS

Obscenity and pornography discussed at Düsseldorf

DIE WELT

Düsseldorf is holding a Danish week and over every street the Danish flag and another flag depicting the milk-cow Karoline are flying. Karoline is advertising Jutland butter.

But, business chief François Bondy said from the start that there was no intention of delivering a lecture on the Danish week. Instead there was a round of talks at which that special preserve of the progressive, Danes was discussed — pornography. The theme of the talks was: "Can obscenity and porn still be provocative in our society?"

At the round table this subject was discussed by Professor Hans Giese, a sexologist, Herbert Mainusch, a professor of German studies, Jesuit priest Paul Konrad Kurz and author Peter Rühmkorf.

Apart from Rühmkorf everyone was agreed that a sharp dividing line could be drawn between obscenity and pornography.

They decided that the depiction of the obscene in literature was justified since there is an obscene side to human life. Human beings have a bent for the abnormal and immoral and thus literature, as a reflection of life, was bound to include this aspect of the human quality.

But their opinion on pornography was being the depiction of sex for sex sake.

Paul Konrad Kurz managed to formulate the difference most clearly and concisely — literature, even if obscene, creates communication, whereas pornography creates only a consumer market.

Herbert Mainusch gave an interesting discourse on the history of pornography.

He claimed that in earlier times pornography had had an important function. It had served to show men the techniques of lovemaking and helped them escape the ignorance and intolerance of a hypocritical society.

But, nowadays the hypocrisy is gone and techniques of lovemaking can be looked up in reputable books by well-known sexologists — for instance the approved *Sex Atlas* of the Bonn Health Ministry.

Pornography has thus become more and more of a surrogate for those who cannot get the real thing. Its emphasis has turned increasingly to sadistic and masochistic perversions and as such was becoming dangerous.

Peter Rühmkorf could not agree with this judgment. He considers that literature with an obscene touch and pornography are one and the same thing.

Both, he claims, have an anti-authoritarian flavour to them. Their role is to free.

It is by no means coincidental, he stated, that in Fascist Spain pornography is more heavily suppressed than in other countries.

On this point, however he had to admit that the Spanish system of censorship was really patently in comparison to that exercised in Communist-ruled countries and revolutionary states such as Algeria.

In these discussions Rühmkorf did not come off too well. When he was questioned about the new cover-girls on his magazine *Kontak* he stammered in embarrassment that these had nothing to do with the

"critical" content of the magazine and they were just intended as an inducement to buy.

Paul Konrad Kurz stated and quite rightly so that excuses such as this fall into the general pattern of those used by producers of pornography.

Hans Giese brought the talk back from the realms of literature to the spheres of medical-sexual pathology. He maintained that pornography often has a salutary effect, channelling sexual frustrations off and relieving sufferers.

At this point the chairman of the discussion Bondy came out in disagreement. He claimed that many sexual pathologists, including Hans Giese himself, tended to get entangled in their own statements and contradict themselves.

He said that on the one hand sexologists recommend the reading of pornography as a stimulant and on the other hand as a compensating factor particularly when it is a question of compensating for sexually-based violent feelings. Which then is right?

As a general rule the oft-mentioned relationship between repressed puritanism and aggressive political violence is disproved by history. There have been puritan regimes (for instance 19th century Sweden) which were completely unaggressive, and in the Rome of libertine Caesars frightful horrors were perpetrated.

Unfortunately the talks were broken somewhat piqued, pointed to his empirical investigations. Paul Konrad Kurz was still saying — despite statements to the contrary — that in Denmark no definite relationship had yet been proved between the legalisation of pornography and the drop in sex crimes. He claimed that statistics had been manipulated in favour of the purveyors of pornography. At this point time ran out and the discussion was at an end.

A large audience had behaved with great discipline and at certain stages seemed somewhat bored. This may have been due to the fact the subject under discussion, modern pornography, was hardly treated at all, so many were the digressions.

François Bondy quoted the judgement of a French critic on the present wave of porn: "When you read it you note that those who wrote it have most certainly never held anything else in their hand but a pen."

Günter Zehm
(DIE WELT, 28 May 1970)

Plans for Darmstadt's modern music holiday course

Between 23 August and 4 September 1970, the Darmstadt International Musical Institute is arranging its International Holiday Courses for Modern Music for the 25th time.

There will also be events open to the public. The Hessischer Rundfunk Orchestra are to give a concert and a chamber concert. Another orchestral concert will be given by the Westdeutscher Rundfunk Orchestra.

There will also be chamber music evenings by the lecturers and the Stockholm Philharmonic. A composers' evening with new works by Karlheinz Stockhausen as well as guest appearances by Vinko Globokar with the piano and Vinko Globokar with the horn, trumpet, trombone and tuba.

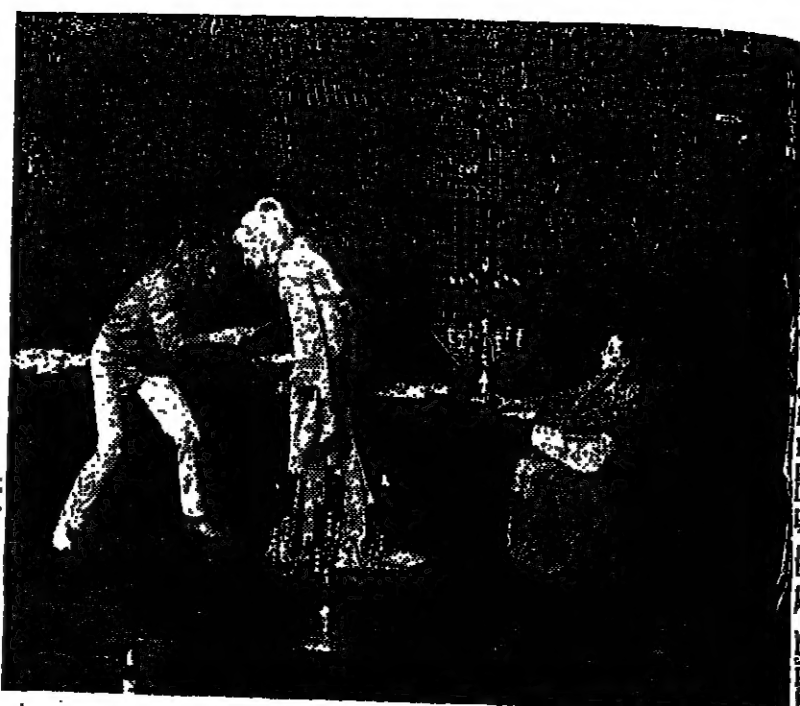
In a practical instrumental course for

composers Aloys Kontarsky and Siegfried Palm will also discuss the problems of keyboard and string instruments.

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Scene from Robert Koesl's play 'The Wolves'

(Photo: Rosemarie Clausen)

Four-letter words, drop-outs and drugs in Hamburg theatre

Hamburg's Thalia Theater is putting on a second premiere in the first season with Boy Gobert as theatre manager of the German theatrical social game *Wir sind ja gar nicht so* (Of course we're not really like this).

Thalia at 11: American underground and the claps there are so open, with not one word that they are afraid to speak!

Likewise Robert Koesl, born in 1938 in New York. His play is called *Die Wölfe* (The Wolves). If a German theatre can portray a man as a wolf among men then nothing much can go wrong with this production.

On the stage we see New York. New York as it lives and loves. A homosexually inclined man, a man addicted to narcotics, an aged female pusher of dope, a striptease artist and a girl who suffers sado-masochistically from her own virginity are organising a party.

The acting is much as expected. It is freely adapted from the style of Albee, with traps for guests at the party. People from the backwoods are invited and shocked by sexual acts and other methods.

Covered up with high-faluting words from sexology which do less to show the perversity of sexual relations in the play by their inventiveness than by their own intrinsic nature the "wolves" are set free.

Characters in the play last after each other and after dope. The talk is of *ficken* and *blagen* (gutter words for genital and oral intercourse).

The junky-mama tells on several occasions of how her so dearly-beloved spouse confused their first physical contact with a visit to the pissor.

Visitors are portrayed as being bourgeois as people from Connecticut. When they come to the party they are punpered with dope, doped up to the eyeballs with LSD, daubed with paint and gagged. Suddenly they are keen to swap roles then they are set out on the street in the fresh air.

The people who threw the party to find and combat Nazi plots and come again next week. End of their revival. Ulfried Seefmann-Eggebert Applause. Here and there a boomerang today continues this work with equal vigour.

We are left to suppose that the vigilance of the Society's first task 25 years ago appeared in Hamburg-Luther's production was to persuade the authorities to reverse their ban on German writers' work. In this it had the help of friends from the nor the publishers was prepared to publish the texts readily available.

In a slinky bar in New York, around this play may have been the scene. Even when dubbed "experimental" it seems to be irrelevant in the Thalia Theatre.

On the stage it is constantly that the characters want to ingratiate with the manna from Connecticut. They are totally unsuspecting. They want her up like a toy balloon. But it is just a question of hiding behind a verbal voyeurism.

All we hear is the woman from Connecticut screaming. Then she is besmirched. In the text of the satirical organisers of the party Pack (who is very aptly named) her up like a balloon yet again.

Now, however, he presses her to him in front of everyone, as lightly as a feather. The method with which he elated woman conforms to the old tradition Ufa in the days when the German film was great. She is pressed against the neck and groans passionately!

American off-off-theatre is being officially to the market in this country. It bears the blunders of hypocrisy.

There is a resemblance to the outside theatres where dirty shows performed. There is something reminiscent of those establishments with the name *Paris bei Nacht* (Paris at Night) and customers receive nothing but their own prudery thrown in the face.

Why did the Thalia Theater not get a tout from St Pauli to stand outside the theatre and try to entice people? "Come along — come in. A once-in-a-lifetime show. New York at its wildest. Come along, gentlemen, seats all round cheap, cheap!"

Heilmuth Kaprielian, Hamburg (DIE ZEIT, 28 May 1970)

LITERATURE

Exiled writers association fights for intellectual freedom

"I'ai gagné la bataille" were the famous last words of Georg Kaiser as he died in Ascona on 4 June 1945. Ten days previously he had been elected honorary president of the Society of German Writers in Switzerland at its constituent assembly in Zurich.

"Nous, la continuons", has since been the watchword of the Society, as the battle still goes on today.

The aim of the Society was announced by its first secretary, Jo Mihaly, in her policy statement. The body was to help German writers back to literary value and honour after the shame of National Socialism.

To achieve this aim, the statement of intentions continued, "We are ready to form a united spiritual front to protect German writing, to protect peace and freedom."

Its first executive committee under the chairmanship of Jo Mihaly consisted of Dr. now Professor, Hans Mayer, Berthold Wolff, Bruno Schönland, Stefan Harmlin, Alexander M. Frey and Ernst Iros. The chairmanship later went to Walter Hasenclever, Otto Zimmermann and Hans Küster-Wolfskehl.

In many years of work as editor of the Society's bulletin, Ossip Kalender did a lot to find and combat Nazi plots and come again next week. End of their revival. Ulfried Seefmann-Eggebert Applause. Here and there a boomerang today continues this work with equal vigour.

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Heilmuth Kaprielian, Hamburg (DIE ZEIT, 28 May 1970)

Society of German-language writers abroad". In 1966 it took into account the fact that it has members in all five continents and changed its name to the "International Protection Society of German-language Writers".

Emigre status was abolished as a condition for membership a long time ago. The only determining factor now is support of political and intellectual freedom and the assurance that the member remained true to this ideal during the years of calamity.

The prestige of the society in the eyes of the world increased from year to year. The Hugo Jacobi Prize was set up in memory of a former member and is awarded to young poets. Helmut Heisenbüttel, Cyrus Atabay, Peter Rühmkorf, Walter Gross, and, most recently, Horst Bienek are among poets who have received the award.

One member of the Society, Julius Marx, entrusted the Georg Kaiser Archives to the Berlin Academy of the Arts and gave Dr. Walther Huder the basis for building up his archives on poets and artists. But there is more to the Society than archive work harking back to the past. Participation at the International German-language Writers' Congresses in Überlingen, Munich and Berlin showed the after-effects of a past that has still not been overcome.

At the Überlingen congress Hermann Kesten delivered a speech on German Literature in exile. When he spoke of the immoral attitude of German writers in the Third Reich and today, he was met not only with applause but also with violent protests.

By staying away from the Merano congress, the Society was spared the temptation of allowing itself to be used for nationalist purposes.

In 1956 the Society was the only writers' association in Switzerland to protest against events in Hungary. The Society became more and more conscious of its duty of pointing out all neo-Nazi and anti-Semitic tendencies that could corrupt politics and the intellectual world.

In spite of the establishment of the Library of Exile Literature in Frankfurt and the unique opportunities to research that this offers, German studies and literary research in this country has avoided research into exile literature. Until researchers in this country decide to start research of this type, the main stimuli will have to continue to come from abroad.

Edwin Markland
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 27 May 1970)



A scene from Georg Tabori's play 'The Cannibals' which was performed at the Schiller Theater in Berlin. (Photo: Ilse Bulst)

Classics dominate this year's 'Theatre Gathering' in Berlin

In the few years of its existence the Theatre Gathering, the first part of the annual Berlin Festival, has already developed its own special tradition. Berlin's theatre-goers are glad of the chance of gaining an overall picture of theatre life in this country without having to travel.

Instead it was the members of the selection jury who did all the travelling. Of course they could not see everything that was worth seeing.

The various productions that can be seen this year in Berlin are more or less worthy of note, though without being a representative cross section of all that can be seen in the German theatre.

But there is a more important aspect. The Theatre Gathering gives theatre-goers in Berlin the unique chance of comparing trends in the German-language theatre. This time these trends were so varied that public reaction was more turbulent than ever before.

There was a clear tendency to come to terms with the Classics. Thanks to Thomas Holtzmann, Fritz Kortner's production of Goethe's *Clavigo* was a great success.

Equally successful was Peter Stein's extremely literary production of *Torquato Tasso* in which he is said to have "rescued Goethe".

Johannes Schaeff's production of Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* could not stand comparison with the other two works. Kortner had already produced the work here, but far more poetically, more intensively, in a more Shakespearean manner and with less reliance on stagecraft.

Schiller's *Kabale und Liebe* was another Classical work that could be seen. Hans

Hollmann's production of the play in the Schiller Theatre departed so much from traditional treatments that the audience either rejected it out of hand or enthusiastically approved.

The delicate Biele production of Beck's *Waiting for Godot*, the work of Hans Bauer, was met with undivided enthusiasm.

Beck's was also represented with his own Berlin production of *Krapp's Last Tape*. Martin Held's ingenious performance helped to make it more authentic.

Contemporary drama was represented by Wolfgang Iser's *Change*. But Sergio Fischerauer's Vienna production of the play fell rather flat. The Viennese dialect, more appropriate to Grillparzer's *King Ottokar*, was little better than a foreign language to Berlin theatre-goers. It was just too difficult to understand, in spite of the quality of the actors.

Peter Palitzsch had to be prepared for the complete failure of his production in Stuttgart of Hopkins' *This Story of Yours*. This version was considered to be nothing more than third generation Freud with easy-to-understand psychological action.

The third contribution from the contemporary theatre was Tabori's *Cannibals*, a play of social criticism hovering between sexual orgy and religious ritual. Martin Fried's Berlin production was so oppressively effective.

This dynamic theatre gathering showed renewed interest in staging the Classical dramaturgy. That plays however were slowly abandoned, revised and given a fresh stage version.

If there had been a prize for producers it would have been divided between Peter Stein (whose production of *Oppla's Early Morning* could not be shown even though it was originally planned to have it in the programme), Fritz Kortner and Hans Bauer.

The best acting awards would have gone to Martin Held, Thomas Holtzmann, Rolf Boyen and Paul Godel.

The best production was without doubt *Waiting for Godot*, *Krapp's Last Tape* and *This Story of Yours*.

This theatre gathering is not meant to be competitive, it is not an Olympic Games for the theatre world where producers can vie with each other to achieve the desired gold medals.

Friedrich Roemer
(DIE WELT, 28 May 1970)

Kortner directing 'Clavigo' in Berlin. The scene designer Eckhard Gröbler is on the left. (Photo: Rosemarie Clausen)

(6) Source: Die Welt, 18 May 1970

THE ECONOMY

Unions and management work together to diagnose economic malaise

W

hose fault is it that prices are rising so sharply? There is a whole array of answers to this burning question which represent various political standpoints and vested interests.

There is general agreement that the chief culprit is the State. There is less agreement about which Bonn government must carry the main burden of blame, the Grand Coalition or the present Social Democrat-Free Democrat coalition.

The main bone of contention is about the role in the tragedy of lost stability played by employers' representatives and trade unions in the power game of salaries, profits and prices.

For months the Federal Republic Union of Employers' Associations (BDA) and the Confederation of Federal Republic Trade Unions (DGB) have been at daggers drawn.

Both the BDA and the DGB have drafted in experts and are working together with more or less contentious columns of figures each trying to prove by mathematical trickery that the other is to blame.

Employers maintain that the economy has been jeopardized by union demands for wage and salary increases leading to prices and incomes inflation. They contend that the cost of living increase for this year which is expected to be approximately four per cent is largely the fault of the unions, who must take at least half the blame.

This statement was made by the executive secretary of the BDA, Wolfgang Eichler, in a recent interview with *Handelsblatt*.

The unions dispute this vehemently saying that there can be no question of prices and incomes inflation. They contend that prices are not rising soaring by demands for corrections to wages and salaries but by the rat race for profits of employers.

Georg Neumann, head of the economic policy branch of the DGB Federal Committee, said in a discussion printed in *Industrielexikon*, that the only concrete and enlightened reason for economic instability is the efforts made by industrialists to boost their profits by raising prices to the disadvantage of employees.

These two statements are diametrically opposite and mutually exclusive: Who is right? The answer that is even partially satisfactory to this question is difficult for two reasons. First, the statistical material that both sides are using in their campaign is insufficient. From time to time all kinds of figures are given, but they are not comparable because of the vast amount of vested interests.

Salaries are expenses and, therefore, a part of the business of market economy. Salaries are also income and, therefore, a part of the political discussion on the distribution of the gross national product. If these two dimensions as a part of the economy are not kept clearly distinct then the result can only be general confusion.

The trade unions base their proof above all on the development of wage costs and have published their findings in the following facts and figures: Marks and Pfennigs. In January 1965 as a general average in Federal Republic industry, of every 100

Marks turnover 26 Marks and 43 Pfennigs went on wages and salaries.

In January 1969 this figure had dropped to 23 Marks 28 Pfennigs. So, in four years employers had saved themselves on average a good three Marks for every hundred turnover.

In January 1970 the figure had risen slightly to 24 Marks 30 Pfennigs. So although they are paying a Mark more than one year ago, employers are still getting off with two Marks less than in 1965.

Even if these figures can be upheld they are still insufficient to prove that employers are responsible for the economy's instability, and the rise in prices.

Costs and turnover are aspects of the market economy structure. Prices are based on the state of the market and are the result of supply and demand factors. If demand exceeds supply prices have a nasty tendency to creep upwards.

Complaints of employers' "greed for profits" are out of place in this context.

Presuming that the unions' calculations are correct then the contrary statement from employers that unions are to a large degree responsible for soaring prices, on account of their persistent demands for substantial wage increases is also out of line.

Since the falling wage bills in the years 1967, 1968 and 1969 were not used by employers to cut their prices then it is difficult to establish that wages that have been rising for some months are the cause of inflation.

The unions' claims simply do not stand the test of logic.

It would need the wisdom of Solomon to sort out with the aid of market categories the battle that has been declared between employers' associations and unions about who is the guilty party. The attempt to find a scapegoat leaves observers of this battle lost in a jungle of columns of figures that contradict each other.

There is a debate on how the gross

national product could most fairly be divided up. The ideas expressed in both camps differ not only in principle.

Gates and doors are here opened to manipulation. Even the choice of the year of departure from which estimates of developments in wages and profits should be calculated differs and has a varied influence on the end result.

With all this lack of clarity and other shortcomings in the statistical material available it is a welcome development that the BDA and the DGB have fought it out to a heroic conclusion which amounts to having reached a stage where greater account will be taken of the realities.

A commission of experts representing members of both camps will sit in judgement on the effects of rising costs, particularly wage costs, on end prices. The outcome of this will also throw some light on developments in profits. The object of investigation that will be taken as a basis of the industrial spheres of raw materials and manufacturing processes with raw materials will be the metal industry.

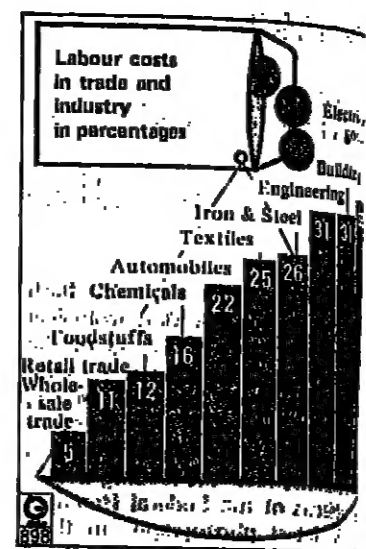
In order to fill out and complete statistical material balance sheets will be taken from individual concerns within this sector of industry and analysed.

If this should not be sufficient, the unions will probably act on his principle of "lay your cards on the table" and call for the publishing of profit and loss accounts.

The unions are not quite so inclined to go along with this. On this bone of contention, this thorn in the flesh, the commission could possibly collapse.

The course and outcome of this joint venture attempting to get to the roots of today's economic problems and iron out the differences leading to the feud between employers' associations and trade unions economists in this country and members of the general public will be waiting with deep interest.

Even if nothing more comes from this



joint venture than that industrial employers and trade unions represent the workers' see the impetus to go down from the high throne of both these and antitheses, even if it is a few steps, that would be at least a come step in the right direction on stage on the way to making some progress in his matter.

(DIE ZEIT, 29 May 1970)

Trade with Third World greater than with East Bloc

A survey conducted among firms in the Federal Republic dealing in foreign trade showed that the most important trade in connection with the World 'developing countries' is given priority.

Furthermore the survey indicated that the Federal Republic's trade with the 172 countries which are members of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) is 17.2 per cent of this country's buyers and comprises 20.4 per cent of its exports.

In spite of these hard facts it was with the East Bloc that always came the limelight, although our trade with the Communist countries makes up 4.1 per cent of imports and 10.8 per cent of exports.

(DER TAGESMISCH, 28 May 1970)

Stock market in '70s will not remain turgid and slow

In fact there does not seem to be a silver lining to this cloud - no indication of any tendency that could reverse the situation. Hopes this spring that there would be an international fall in interest rates have proved to be unfounded.

Escalation of the war in South-East Asia and continuing inflationary tendencies in the United States have made it impossible for Richard Nixon's government to return to a policy of cheap money.

And for as long as interest rates remain high in America they will remain high here too. Added to this there has been the recent 'Investors Overseas Service' (IOS) crisis. We have looked on helplessly at the most extensive investment scheme in the world destroyed itself.

This low continues in several countries for a variety of reasons. In America the slump has hit profits and caused even some of the larger companies difficulties. In Japan doubt is being mounded whether the 'great growth rate' can be kept up. In Italy there is persistent popular unrest with constant strikes. In London it seems that the prospect for the future is

five more years of drudgery under Labour government. This is a gloom for industrialists and not for the Federal Republic's main aim is that the left-wing of the SPD will force the party into unfortunate into the economy.

One important cause of the slow low is a result of attempts to bring soaring prices.

The rate of price increases has doubled in comparison with that of the sixties.

In all countries governments are repeating that they are not prepared to tolerate inflation any more. But measures they have taken to counter inflation have so far proved ineffective.

It is becoming clear and clear that the road back to economic stability will be long and hard and steep with many like all others.

Experts at the OECD were quite sure that there was no threat of a recession in 1970. No one need fear a world recession.

On the contrary the OECD sees economic production achieving a growth of 65 to 70 per cent by the year 1980. With growth prospects such as this will prove worthwhile in the long run. Invest in shares. It is unlikely that the 'golden sixties' will be followed by a 'golden seventies'.

(DIE ZEIT, 28 May 1970)

INDUSTRY

Bonn-Düsseldorf area competes with the Ruhr's supremacy

Whenever talk turns to the industrial heart of North Rhine-Westphalia people immediately think quite naturally of the Ruhr.

This centre of the Federal Republic industrial economy situated between Düsseldorf and Dortmund has put North Rhine-Westphalia on the industrial map of this country and the world.

Neighbouring areas to the Ruhr have tended to remain in the shadows. But some districts have benefited from this proximity to the Ruhr. Certainly, in recent years the area between Düsseldorf and Bonn has.

A second Ruhr has grown up in this region, the heart of which is Cologne, in the years following the Second World War.

Contributing factors to the building up of another important industrial centre (and what is more important, the attraction of new settlers there) are to be found in the many territorial advantages this district has over the Ruhr proper.

One factor is the incredibly good transport network in this area. Over 2,000 years ago Cologne was a vital centre of international trade. It was also then an important manufacturing centre. Without doubt its situation on the main artery of Germany, the Rhine, had a lot to do with this. Transport has always been a vital factor in trade.

Since then Cologne has become a hub of other kinds of transport, a major junction for the Bundesbahn and a city to which all autobahns seem to lead.

But it is still the significance of Cologne as a city on a major river that has led to its industrial development.

With its more than 100,000 employees Daimler-Benz of Stuttgart the third-largest concern in the Federal Republic, does not find it too difficult to follow the tried and tested principle of choosing managerial staff from its own ranks rather than drafting men in from other companies.

Heinz Damm of the central managerial training scheme said: "We are loath to pick our leading officials from 'foreign' concerns."

He is convinced that in the future the system of choosing the top 1.3 per cent in the company from the factory floor, as it were, will be continued. One point three per cent of the staff at Daimler-Benz hold managerial status.

About forty per cent of these 1,300 top men at Daimler-Benz have academic qualifications. Herr Damm was not prepared to comment on whether he considered it desirable to have more than half of these positions filled with men with high educational qualifications.

The system at Daimler-Benz entails the men who hope one day to be in a top-ranking position working their way "through the ranks". The men who give orders must be prepared to take orders during their apprenticeship.

Herr Damm talks of the leading men in the motor firm gaining their character as leaders from learning practically.

Trainees have a starting pay equivalent to that of a skilled technician, around 1,650 Marks per month. Their training may comprise a six-month or year course and courses are designed to meet individual requirements as far as possible. Trainees can prepare themselves for a white-collar job in various departments,

the construction of a chain of petroleum refineries and chemical works around the city.

Among the major companies operating from this area are Bayer Dyes Division, Kalk chemicals and the Esso, Shell and Union Oil Refineries.

The considerable requirements of electricity of these firms are met by the massive RWE lignite mines west of Cologne, another important industry centred here.

Chemical and oil concerns are the main industry of this other Ruhr, holding top place in significance both from the point of view of their size and from the aspect of their importance to industry as a whole.

But their supremacy is challenged by the vehicle-building industry and the motor trade as a whole, which is not just confined to Fords.

Klöckner-Humboldt-Deutz is among the biggest suppliers of trade vehicles in the Federal Republic.

In addition to this concern there is the Brühl Renault plant, Porz Citroën and DAF of Erkrath. These are the chief centres of the foreign motor industry in the Federal Republic.

Of the other traditional major branches of heavy industry represented in the second Ruhr it note should be made of machine manufacture and electronics. There are several concerns in these branches of industry situated in the region between Düsseldorf and Bonn.

But it is not only heavy industry that

has taken root and flourished in the other Ruhr.

There has been in recent years a great increase in the number of service industries and small businesses from many countries all over the world that have set up shop in the area between Düsseldorf and Bonn.

Needless to say the role of the town of Bonn as the "provisional" capital of the Federal Republic has attracted many of these businesses to this district.

In the area between Bad Godesberg and Bonn virtually every arms manufacturer in the world has set up a subsidiary company. Certainly these companies can see the advantage of having a factory in the proximity of Bonn and the Federal Republic ministries.

Düsseldorf has become a favourite centre for Japanese investment goods and consumer goods sales divisions. This is one good reason why Düsseldorf has become famous as the "writing desk of the Ruhr".

What the Japanese discovered there, other countries have not been slow to appreciate and follow up.

The Netherlands, Great Britain, France and the United States of America have all set up a great many companies in the area between Bonn and Düsseldorf in recent years. More new companies have been founded in Düsseldorf and the surrounding areas than in any other built-up area of the Federal Republic in recent times.

In Cologne and Düsseldorf there are now new companies set up solely to aid other concerns to get off to a good start in these districts.

(DIE ZEIT, 23 May 1970)

Daimler-Benz training scheme gives Benz men a chance

such as finance, after-sales service, development projects and marketing.

Trainees with a non-academic background are taught first of all the basic structure of the company.

The courses are held every other week and take up only a few hours. For all those involved it may seem that for the first couple of years nothing is happening. But this is the time in which, as Herr Damm says, the candidates are proving their worth.

The skilled worker who has come through this ordeal by fate successfully and goes on to an "information week" can consider he has chalked up his first major success on the road to the top.

It is an open and quite unimportant matter whether the trainee in question has set his sights on the position immediately above his in the hierarchy of whether he has aimed for a post in the personnel section or the further training department.

Personal initiative on the part of a trainee is reckoned very highly. In tests of suitability for promotion it is a vital factor.

Herr Damm is of the opinion that in positions midway up the Daimler-Benz hierarchy a sense of creativity is still to a large extent lacking.

Coupled with this factor is the fact that at all levels in management the opportunities for taking personal initiative are increasing all the time.

According to Heinz Damm prospective company managers can no longer hope to rely on authority and knowledge of their job alone in an age when the man on the factory floor has a democratic vote and is becoming daily more self-aware and critical.

A leader must have ideas of his own. The modern method always involves teamwork and the prospective manager must be able not only to control his team but also to fit into it as well.

The central training scheme at Daimler-Benz is geared to this modern thinking and selects suitable trainers of prospective managers.

For the trainees, assistants and skilled workers who after belonging to the firm for several years have shown great promise and look as though they may be able to make the big time and stay in it, the door is opening a fourteen day seminar which tests the prospective top men to the limit of their capabilities, as Herr Damm puts it.

The system of the Daimler-Benz hierarchy and the steps that have to be taken to reach the top of the ladder have been very carefully worked out.

At the fourteen day seminar members of the company board are ready to enter into discussions with trainees at a moment's notice.

Teamwork is practised until coordination is perfect. Practical cases are tested and solved in practice and special aspects of leadership are discussed.

(DIE ZEIT, 23 May 1970)

For several decades Cologne has been a stronghold of Federal Republic insurance companies. Around fifty insurance brokers have their headquarters in Cologne. If Federal state and local branches of insurance companies are included the total figure is something like 200.

Cologne is also a favoured location for the credit institutes, and has long been so.

Many employers' associations favour the Cologne area, some of long-standing and others that have moved here since Bonn became the temporary capital of the Federal Republic.

Among the associations operating from this area are the *Deutscher Industrie und Handelstag* (The Council for Industry and Trade), the *Bundesverband der deutschen Industrie* (The Federal Industrial Association) and the *Verein Deutscher Ingenieure* (The Federal Republic Engineers' Association).

Cologne and Düsseldorf also have two extraordinarily active Chambers of Trade and Commerce.

The trade fairs policy of Cologne and Düsseldorf is interesting to observe. One example of local interests in this region is in the policy regarding the construction of airports.

Influenced by the proximity of Bonn an airport has been built near Cologne which is today one of the most modern for its size.

What is lacking in Cologne is sufficient traffic to use the new facilities. In Düsseldorf, however, the boat is on the other foot. The number of passengers has outstripped the extension programme to the airport.

Incorrect planning decisions have led to a situation where Düsseldorf's airport cannot be extended sufficiently to meet the increased volume of traffic.

But mistakes of this kind are fortunately rare. Public planners can point out with pride that the decisions they have taken have contributed considerably to the economic development of this area. This applies to spheres such as transport.

Continued on page 12

This training scheme has been going on for ten years at Daimler-Benz and of the 450 workers who have taken the course only thirty have since terminated their contract with Daimler-Benz.

The other members of the seminar, eighty-five per cent of the total, have stepped across all the stepping-stones and surmounted all the obstacles and made it to the top.

Take one example of a hopeful at Daimler-Benz. An engineer aged 30 is head of the repairs branch at a subsidiary company. For one year he attends courses at night-school in business management.

Top members of the company are struck by the way in which this engineer's repair shop is run, economically and with excellent returns and low overheads.

His name is entered for seminars at a local technical school. He takes further education courses preparing him for future company management.

At the age of 36 he becomes manager of the production team at a lorry-building works.

Another case: a man who has a good degree in politics is taken on at the age of 27. He speaks two foreign languages fluently. He has bolstered his knowledge of these tongues with lengthy stays in the countries in question.

He starts his career as an expert in the company's economic policy division. After three years in the company he enters the Daimler-Benz seminar. After making several journeys abroad for the company he becomes a departmental head.

(DIE ZEIT, 23 May 1970)

TECHNOLOGY

Electric power and the vehicles of the future

Frankfurter
Neue Presse
June 2, 1969

Housewives of the future will drive the children to school or set out on shopping expedition by electromobile. Electric taxis will serve the city centre, delivery vans specially designed for town traffic will keep the air free of exhaust fumes, battery-driven buses will cruise almost noiselessly through the streets.

Garages will also lack the all-pervading smell of petrol and diesel oil. When motorists drive on to the forecourts of the dense city-centre network of garages they will say not "Fill her up" but "Change batteries, please."

This futuristic vision of an urban environment almost free of noise and exhaust fumes could soon become reality, according to a memorandum recently published by the applied research committee of the Federal Republic Research Association.

There are no longer any serious technological difficulties in the way of the development and use of electric town cars and service vehicles. Even the market prospects of what, for the time being, cannot but be an extremely short-range vehicle are felt to be excellent.

The number of second cars, typical town vehicles, is continually on the increase. Ninety per cent of rush-hour traffic in this country, of private and estate cars, that is, covers distance of less than twelve miles.

The change from petrol-engined to electric cars, the battery-run variety, for instance, which stores energy from the grid, would conform with the growing trend towards electrification.

Transport as a major consumer would be an ideal and lucrative partner for the electricity authorities. Were a mere ten per cent of the power at present consumed by transport provided in the form of electricity additional capacity would not even need to be installed.

As most local grids do not possess power storage capacity part of the equipment has to be switched off at times when demand is low but this capacity could be utilised and power supplied at low cost for car batteries.

Local government authorities have already "discovered" electric-powered vehicles. In Munich the first bus powered exclusively by electricity in battery form is undergoing trials on regular services, private cars make their breakthrough, though.

Battery-powered cars not only give off

no exhaust fumes and create next to no noise; they are economic too. They have no clutch or gearbox either, which makes them easier to handle. When not in motion they use no power whatsoever and generate additional energy during braking.

The disadvantages are that at present they have a maximum range of sixty miles and a top speed of thirty to 35 miles an hour. Even then batteries are bulky and weighty as yet.

Batteries are not the only alternative to the internal combustion engine, of course. Fuel cells, electrochemical generators developing electric power in the vehicle with the aid of certain fuels, could extend the range to any distance required. A great deal of development work remains to be done on them, however.

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 19 May 1970)

Continued from page 11

improvements, news media and administrative structures.

Certainly in some localities there is still much to be done. The rate of expansion has been far greater than many people expected. In fact the expansion has been so profound that today the Federal Republic's second Ruhr can stand comparison with the first, the area between the rivers Rhine and Ruhr.

Looking more closely at the reason for the area between Düsseldorf and Bonn becoming so popular for new and expansive industries it will be noted that firms have been able to set up shop in this area on a fairly free footing with very few dictates.

It is an area with a hinterland and not hemmed in by any boundaries and frontiers that might have checked expansion and cut sales areas.

It is an area where planning has generally proved to be fertile, that is to say, planners have not given companies false leads.

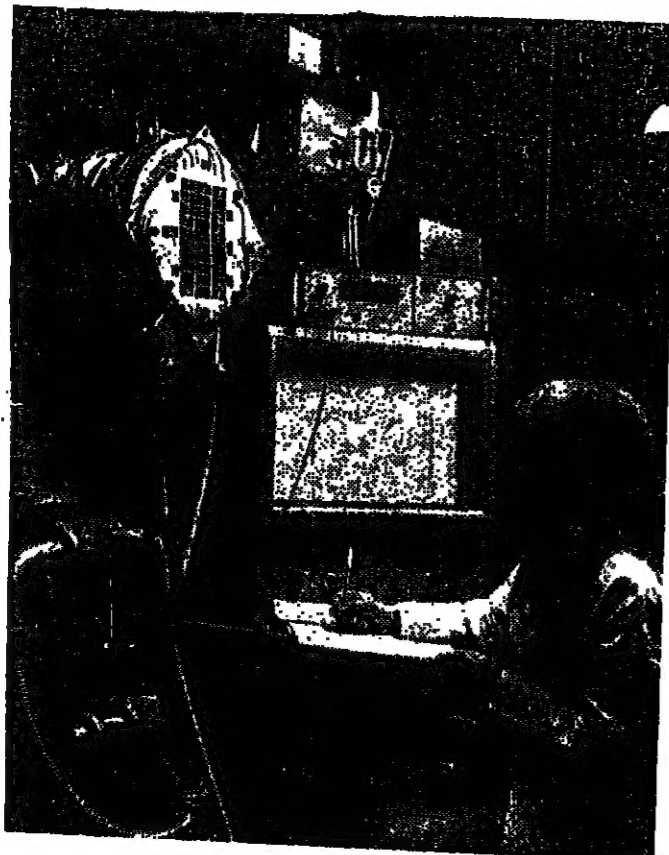
The Bonn-Düsseldorf area has always been one in which the market economy has had a feeling of freedom. It has used this freedom to its advantage with great effect.

Peter Odrich
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
für Deutschland, 29 May 1970

Solar probe

Helios, a solar probe designed to carry out measurements including the speed, distribution of solar plasma and the spatial distribution of micrometeorites, is to be launched on a trajectory between the solar orbits of Mercury and the Earth. AEG-Telefunken have been commissioned to carry out work on power supply, data storage and transmission and a number of electronic units. Measurements of the electrical data of solar cells at various temperatures are here being made in the firm's Wedel works.

(Photo: AEG-Telefunken)



ON THE ROAD

Car registrations

In the six Common Market countries, a total of 156,867 cars were registered in 1968, an average 223 cubic metres (60.13 imperial gallons) of petrol in 1968.

The average annual turnover at car's 222,000 garages is 1,167 cubic metres (257,000 imperial gallons).

A European garage sells on average only a quarter of the petrol marketed opposite number in the United States.

(DIL WLT, 25)

Autobahn signs

Remote-controlled direction signs to be operated on an autobahn for the first time ever this summer. Numbers and directions will change according to traffic conditions.

From July on, when holiday begins in earnest, luminous remote-controlled signs will operate on the autobahn between Wiesbaden and Frankfurt.

"Most hold-ups on the autobahn," Rudi Arndt, Hesse Minister of Transport, are the result of temporary directions not being indicated quickly enough. The new remote-controlled system will solve the problem.

The new signs will incorporate a system enabling changes in direction to be made from a central panel.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 26 May)

Flatproof tyres by 1984

From 1984 on flat tyres will no longer worry motorists. In a survey forecasting developments over the next five years the Cologne subsidiary of an American tyre manufacturer predicts that 1984 on flatproof tyres will be made.

In ten years from now new cars will no longer be supplied with a spare tyre. Top speed at which normal tyres are used will be 150 miles an hour and life expectancy of car tyres will be 100,000 miles, it is forecast.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 29 May)

Headrests snap

Most headrests are unlikely to prevent motorists from sustaining severe spinal injuries in the event of an accident, ADAC, the Federal Republic automobile association, stated in a recent press release.

Tests conducted by the association show that headrests are unable to stall the impact of a collision at 24 miles an hour. They normally snap off. There is also danger of injury from the sharp-edged metal parts of the headrest.

ADAC demands that headrests be made subject to standards specifications.

(DIL WLT, 21 May 1970)

Too many garages

According to the Flensburg motor vehicle registration office the number of vehicles newly registered has reached a new record level. This April 265,465 new cars represented an increase of 10 per cent on March and 21.6 per cent on April 1969.

In the first four months of this year 809,398 vehicles, including 672,117 private cars, were newly registered, 14.8 per cent more than the corresponding period last year.

(IndustrieKurier, 26 May 1970)

Welcome to the big time.

The world's first 747s are flying the world's most experienced airline. All the way to the U. S. A. from London or Frankfurt or Paris or Tokyo. And between Hawaii and California. You're welcome to join in the fun on the plane where the big thing is comfort.

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